1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

No. 39. Meiturujunōyu eng-oshoghe metii en-gerai. 539*
It-will-not-swell-itself the-belly it-is-not-there the-child.

The belly does not swell if a woman is not pregnant.
['There is no smoke without a fire.']

No. 40. Meituruk en-gume.
It-precedes-not the-nose.

The nose does not precede the rest of the body.
[This expression is often used after a misfortune has befallen one, the idea being that if it were possible to send on one's nose ahead, one could have foreseen the danger that was being threatened and made preparations accordingly.]

No. 41. Meiyopoo ol-ōwaru ol-kujita.
It-covers-not-away the-beast-of-prey the-grass.

[A beast of prey (or a thief) can hide for a while, but in course of time it will be captured or killed. 'Murder will out.']

No. 42. Melañg in-glshu ol-ōgol le-kishōmi.
They-cross-not the-cattle the-who-is-strong of-clan (*or* gate).

No matter how young or weak a child may be on his father's death, he is strong in his own kraal, for his friends will see that he inherits the cattle. [428]

[There is some play on the word *kishōmi*. The cattle will not pass the *gate* because the child's *clan* is strong.]

No. 43. Melañg ol-ambu en-noñgoto.
He-passes-not the-boaster the-valley.

The boaster will not cross the valley.
['Pride goes before a fall.']

No. 44. Melo en-geju nabo 'murano.
It-goes-not the-leg one the-meetings-of-the-warriors.

Warriors and cripples remain apart.
['Birds of a feather flock together.']

No. 45. Meñgasunōyu ol-kesen
It-will-not-begin-itself the-cloth-for-carrying-a-child-in

etiōyo en-gerai.
it-is-not-yet-come the-child.

Don't make a cloth for carrying a child in before the child is born.
['Don't count your chicks before they are hatched.' *Vide* also the Swahili proverb: 'Kuñnda k'anzu mwana hajavyawa' (to cut out the tunic before the child is born).]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

En-juñgore.

Ten ĕă ol-móruo loo-'l-Maasae, nejuñg en-gerai enye bŏtor in-dŏkitin enye p̣ôkin, oo 'n-gishu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorŏyok nemeata 'n-gera; kake meidim aiyawa 'n-gishu oo 'n-dare oo-'ñgorŏyok naaata 'ng-ayok.

E'ya 'n-gulye-kera naara 'ng-ayok 'n-gishu oo-'ng-ajijik oo-nooñgotonye.

Teni meata ol-móruo 'n-gera, nejuñg il-alashera lenyena 'n-gishu oo 'ñgorŏyok; kake mejuñg i-ñgorŏyok ol-alashe oñgárie kina, amu torono; nejuñg lekwa lemeñgárie kina, ninje oo'ya 'ñgorŏyok.

Ore ten eiu e-ñgorŏyŏni enye eng-ayŏni to-'l-alashe lemeñgárie kina, araki te-lighae-tuñgani, neishori inna-kerai 'n-gishu metujuñgo, neip̣otyeki aajo ol-le-inna-añg.

Naa, ten ĕă ol-móruo, neiñgua e-ñgorŏyŏni enye eata en-gerai kake eng-ayŏni, mejuñgi 'n-gishu enyena, ep̣ali metubulu ol-openy.

Mejuñg il-Maasae 'l-ap̣ulayani lenye, amu torono.

Inheritance.

When the father of a family dies, his eldest son inherits all his property[1], and also the herds and flocks belonging to the childless widows, but not those which are the property of widows who have sons. 428

The sons by each wife inherit the cattle belonging to their mother's family.

If a man dies childless, his brothers inherit his cattle and his half-brothers his wives. It is unlawful for a man's own brothers (i. e. brothers by the same mother) to take his wives. [587]

Should a widow have a son by her late husband's half-brother or by another man, the child is given the cattle which he would otherwise have inherited had his mother's former husband been alive, and he is considered to belong to that family. 587 428 851

If a man dies and leaves a son who is a minor, the property which he inherits is taken care of for him until he grows up[2]. 428 429

It is considered unlawful for a man to inherit the property of his maternal uncle. 428 604

[1] The Masai distribute their herds and flocks amongst their wives during their lifetime, each one being given a certain number to look after and milk. The cattle so distributed are said to belong to the wife's family, and are recognised as the property of her sons, who, however, do not assume ownership until after their father's death. [422]

[2] In a case of this kind, the child does not go to the wars, but marries soon after he is circumcised.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Ngurumun	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON,[15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself.

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange.[16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE,[17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner.

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

687 remain before the gates, every ox, cow and calf of the murderer is forfeit.

(*d*) If the deceased has very few relatives, they sometimes try to surprise the murderer's cattle when out grazing. They hastily run them to their own kraal and brand one or two with their own brand.[1] If they succeed in branding a few before the relatives of the murderer arrive, the latter may only remove the bell-oxen and herd-leaders. All the remainder are forfeit.

[582] Until the matter of the murder has been settled in any of the above ways, or by the killing of the murderer without trial, no man from the murderer's kraal may be married to a girl from the kraal of the deceased and vice versa. This applies to all Masai, irrespective of clans or families. Donkeys, sheep and goats are never included in the property forfeited except by mutual agreement.

EN-GOOKI: PARRICIDE OR FRATRICIDE

[428] If a son kills his father, or a brother his brother, he forfeits all rights to inheritance. The property goes to his brothers, their wives or (if he is an only son) to his uncles. If married, he forfeits his wife and children. If unmarried, he will never be given a Masai woman to wed. He is generally hunted from his kraal, and with his mother (to whom the blame for his crime also attaches) becomes an outcast.

Murder by unusual means—such as poisoning—is a very rare offence. The penalty would be the same as in murder by any ordinary method. Should the poisoned individual [683] recover, the penalty would be the same as in the case of a serious injury. In some of the very few cases of murder by poisoning that have occurred in the past the culprit has been executed by the Masai.

Homicide is dealt with according to the gravity of the matter, the degree of provocation caused and the element of chance or accident existing. It is generally settled by the payment of twenty cattle and nine cattle, or forty cattle and nine cattle.

[1] For a comprehensive illustrated list of Masai cattle-brands, see *Die Masai* by M. Merker. (Berlin, 1910. Dietrich Reimer.)

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

ceived from the traders, he, of course, did not keep himself, but divided among his sweethearts of the kraal.

And so with war and women, life passed in happy fashion. His demeanour was serious, and his expression ferocious, though he acquired an aristocratic *hauteur* truly striking. He showed curiosity in a dignified manner. He rarely indulged in vulgar laughter, and smiling was hardly possible on a face which could only be called fiendish.

He passed some twenty years in this manner. At last his father was found to be on the point of death, and he was sent for. Shortly after his arrival, the old man succumbed.

BAB GHAANDYU, MARRIED WOMAN.

It was not thought necessary to recognize this common-place occurrence in any way whatever, and therefore Moran lost no time in picking up the corpse and throwing it outside the kraal. Next morning, he smiled grimly as on going out, he kicked aside some freshly-picked bones, and glanced at some disgusting hyænas slinking away, in company with meditabout storks, while vultures flapped greedily overhead.

He was now sole heir of his father's herds, for his younger brothers did not receive a single head of cattle, though they had captured in their raids considerable numbers of them. Any they might secure now, however, would be their own property. Moran decidedly preferred the free and easy life of the warrior's kraal, but, alas! he discovered, not that he was

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

B. Junior Warriorhood. — circumcision — subdivisions of age — formation of Manyattas — relations between junior and senior warriors — promotion (Uasio).

As in the case of other ceremonies, it is not the details but the wider significance of the operation which claims our attention. The first most important point is that circumcision is the visible sign of admittance to full membership of the tribe, and that anyone desirous of becoming a "Masai" must be operated upon. After admittance there are many ceremonies of promotion but it is not essential that every member of the tribe should attend; it is essential, however, that he should be circumcised. Prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to. Further, the moran, whose perquisite the mature girls are, deny the youths' access to their girls. Consequently circumcision and its attendant ceremonies admit the youths to a full sex life.

Hollis states that circumcision usually takes place between the ages of 13 and 17, though orphans and the children of poor parents frequently wait until they are twenty. My own observations would indicate that 16 or 17 is the lower limit, except in the case of youths whose fathers have died, who want to be in a position to inherit. The existence of this latter custom, circumcision to permit inheritance, is a good example of the meaning of the ceremony. If it has not been performed, the youth whose father dies cannot inherit; the cattle, wives, etc., must all be taken over by a paternal uncle as guardian pending the circumcision of the eldest male child. But if permission can be obtained for his circumcision a youth of ten or twelve can assume control of a boma, to the exclusion of all other relatives. In other words, as stated above, circumcision is the mark of full membership of the tribe.

When the initiation of a new age has been sanctioned circumcision takes place singly or in groups of two or three in the father's boma. The ceremony is usually performed during or at the end of the rains, a time of plenty amongst the Masai, and is suspended during the dry season. Four successive years are taken up with the circumcision of an age, and it is natural that those circumcised in one season possess a marked feeling of affinity towards one another. This shows itself in the possession of a group name for each batch, the same names being employed from generation to generation. They are, for the first batch, il *Changen opiry* or il *Kiperen*, followed by il *Parisgotwoiang*, il *Kirimbot* and finally il *Tareto*. The above refers to a right hand age; a left hand age, being fewer in number, possesses only the three last-mentioned divisions.

When all of one age have been circumcised they divide themselves into companies (*isiriti*) each of which forms a warrior village or barracks (*enanyatta*). In Tanganyika the manyattas are usually formed on a territorial or sectional basis, e.g. Engasumet, Olnolog, Mferegi (areas) or Selei, Purku, etc. (sections), though Whitehouse describes a ceremony whereby the warriors, presumably [illegible] one area, divide themselves up, frequently on a clan basis.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

When blood-money is paid, it is less when the

payment is between clansmen. The logical extension of this principle is that when cattle are due from one member of the clan they may be taken from any of his clansmen. This is in fact the rule for payment of compensation amongst the Masai, though the offender and his near relatives naturally pay more. In the one case of blood money in which details were obtained, members of sub-clans other than that of the murderer contributed, and it is, therefore, safe to calculate that clan responsibility and cohesion applies to the whole clan in greater degree than it does to the sub-clans.

B. **Family matters — the boma system — the 'gates' — polygamy — marriage statistics — number of cattle to each gate — relations in law — travelling — adoption — economic.**

Briefly, the Masai live in groups of families, usually three, four or five together, in a village comprising a ring of huts, built immediately inside a circular fence, which thus forms an enclosure for the cattle. Such villages are usually built some two or three miles, frequently more, from the water which the cattle use, so that it is unusual to find more than two or three bomas in close proximity. Frequently a boma is a mile or more from its nearest neighbour. In the village each family possesses a separate gate, *enguhoma*, round which its members are grouped.

It is difficult to define a typical family or 'gate' unit. The ideal of a Masai elder is to possess half a dozen wives with many children, ranged on either side of his gate. As he marries *he* places the first on the right of the gate, and the second on the left; when a third wife comes in she builds her hut immediately to the right of the gate, and the fourth immediately to the left, the earlier wives moving round accordingly. Each wife on arrival is given a number of cattle, which are hers to hold in trust for her children. She is also given, for tending, some of the unallocated cattle which the elder holds in reserve for future marriages; such cattle are termed *enginku e boo*. Those living to the right and the left of the gate form two distinct groups, *indaloishin*, and for the purpose of inheritance, should a wife on the left die without male issue, her cattle will be inherited by the senior male on the left of the gate; they may in no circumstances be taken by an heir on the right so long as there is a son on the left to inherit.

When the sons are circumcised, they nominally take over the guardianship of their mother, and of the cattle allocated to her. In the old days they would move off with her to the manyatta, warriors' village, but this is less frequent now. As they approach elderhood, however, in polygamous families the sons at times claim their patrimony and move off with their mothers, to form a separate gate in some other boma. More frequently they show little desire for this responsibility, and spend the greater part of their period of warriorhood wandering round the countryside, or living in meat-camps in the bush (*ol pul*). Once they become elders it is exceptional for a son to continue to live with his father, except when the latter has reached senility.

This is the theory of the gate system, but in practice it varies very considerably from the ideal. Polygamy (see below) is limited by the

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

death taking place within the village. This means that as soon as a young or middle-aged person shows any signs of approaching death, he (or she) is hastily carried out into the bush outside the village and left to die there.

Should the death of a young or middle-aged person occur within the village the body must be carried out and thrown into the bush. The proper person to perform this last service is a son of the deceased, but if no son is available the body must be moved by a stranger (usually a member of the Wandorobo tribe, who is always willing to perform this work), and the fee for doing so is a heifer. The village must be moved as soon as possible after such an occurrence, but otherwise there is no purification ceremony.

Burial of Old People.—Only an old man, or a woman past child-bearing, is allowed to die peacefully in a hut in the village, and the body is then buried in the following way:—As soon as death occurs a ram or bullock is slaughtered and the fat used to anoint the body and clothes (sewn skins) of the individual. All ornaments are removed, and the burying-place is then prepared as follows: A spot in the bush not far from the village is selected and cleared and a hollow square of rough logs is then built up. This structure is usually about four feet square and three feet high. On the ground inside the structure the deceased's sleeping-skin is placed, and on it the body is laid (with the knees sufficiently bent to fit the space). Men are placed lying on their right sides, women on their left. The body is then covered by the various skin dresses owned by the deceased and left, no attempt being made to cover over the top of the structure with wood or earth in order to protect the body from scavenging animals.

About a month after the burial has taken place the village must be moved, with the exception of the hut in which the death took place. The hut is left to fall into ruin. Meanwhile, until the move takes place, any other occupants of the hut continue to live in it as before.

Ceremony at the Burial-place.—On the day that the village is finally abandoned every member of the village must file past the burial-place and the elder people stop and drink beer and slaughter an ox there. My informants, however, insist that this is not a sacrifice to the departed spirit as among some other tribes, and as proof pointed out that they did not pour out any beer at the grave or leave any offering of meat.

Inheritance.—A man's possessions all pass to his male children, but if they are too young to take charge of them themselves the deceased's own brother, who acts *in loco parentis* (see Widowhood) looks after the property for them. In return for this he is allowed to retain a very small percentage of the stock.

A man's personal ornaments are put on his various children about two months after his death, with a certain amount of ceremonial and much beer-drinking. His weapons are kept for his sons until such time as they shall require them.

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL.12 Masai FL.12 Kenya

422 Women possess no property save their ornaments. Of these the beads and the 423 necklaces become the property of the daughters, but the wire ornaments are thrown away.

915 *Spirit Life.*—My informants declared that the Masai had no belief in a spirit life 916 after death, or in spirits of any kind, but I am not satisfied on this point. For some reason (probably a restriction with a heavy penalty attached) they were unwilling to discuss this subject.

754 *Curses.*—The death-bed curse is considered very terrible, as there is no possible way of escaping its evil effects, for a curse can only be removed by the person who uttered it. A man who has been cursed will use every possible means to have the curse withdrawn immediately lest the utterer of the curse should die. (A curse 915 uttered during life is supposed often to remain inactive until the death of the utterer, and this in itself seems to indicate a belief in some sort of spirit activity.)

PART VIII.—CLANS.

614 The following is a list of the clans and sub-clans among the Masai (it is as nearly complete as possible):—

Main Clan Name.	*Sub-clans.*
No. 1. Laimer	(1) Laimer (2) Legutot (3) Leitoya (4) Lukumai (5) Lemotheno (6) Libartimara (7) Leigut.
No. 2. Ndorobirr	(1) Ndorobirr (2) Lasalogwara.
No. 3. Molelian	(1) Molelian (2) Mberekimati
No. 4. Magwen	(1) Magwen (2) Lawuya.

PART IX.—CATTLE AND STOCK.

933 As a pastoral people the Masai have many very interesting customs connected with their flocks, but information on this subject is very hard to obtain, as details of the greatest interest to anthropologists are often not given because they are considered too trifling or too well-known to be worth discussion. A few interesting notes were, however, obtained.

614 The name of the main group *Loodo nowgi* is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan *Loodo Kidoi*, because the former means " the blood-red bullocks and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Il pitoo* (the clan) and *Enkishomi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent inter-changeably.

Hollis, p. 280, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Oikop or Il-Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

[601]

Some clans are associated with certain colours as under :—

Il Aiser el Oonyone Onik (the black oxen ?), *Laiglomuse el Amomi Nongai Onik* (the thin black ones), *Il Dorsanre el Amomi Sero* (the brown ones), *Il Kidolion* all colours.

597 *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for them in the more fertile areas *Naivasi* Nagore and Il Molili, west of the Rift valley.

[598] An adopted person is called *O-Ainge*. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his herd of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he elects to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[599] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He would not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

941 928 *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms " right of the gate " and " left of the gate " may be understood.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

Each man of property has one or more village gates through which his herds enter and leave the village. His first wife builds her hut on the right (looking inwards) of her husband's gate, the second wife on the left. The third wife will build next to and on the right of the first wife, and the fourth wife next to and on the left of the second wife.

The diagram below (Text-fig. 1) shows a village belonging to two elders, A and B, with the positions of their gates and of their wives' huts in relation thereto.

When a man marries his first wife he hands over to her a portion of his stock, perhaps half, to look after. He hands to his second wife a slightly smaller herd and the first wife may add a few from her portion. The third and fourth wife receive their portions from the first and second wife respectively, and the husband may also

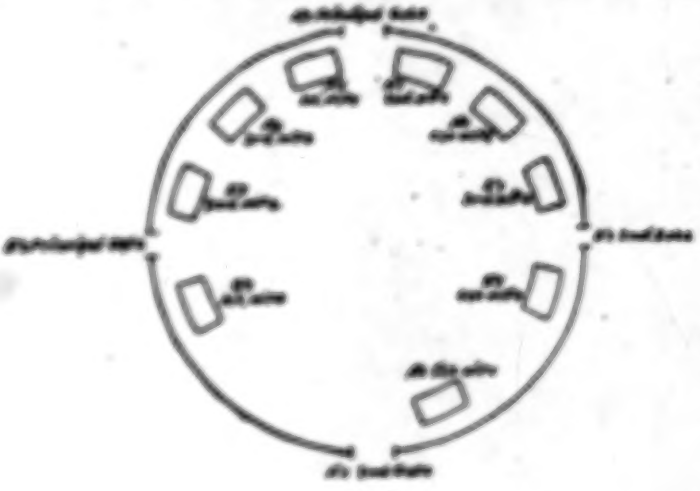

FIG. 1.

constitute a few. The fifth and subsequent wives receive a few cattle from each of the previous wives in order to form a herd.

Inheritance (Ko-Dabidi).—When a woman has a husband alive, and at the same time a son who marries, she allots some cattle to this son, and they then become his property. On the death of the head of the family each wife divides her portion among her sons. If a wife is already dead her eldest son divides her portion among her sons.

The cattle from the portions on the right side of the gate cannot pass on inheritance to the left side unless there are no sons of the wives on the right, and vice versa. If a man dies without male issue his property goes to the nearest male relations in his sub-clan. If the first wife has no sons her portion is inherited by the sons of the other wives on the right of the gate. A man may bequeath

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

428 a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

422 562 *Women's Property.*—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(*a*) A woman who had plied the profession of a doctor (*i.e.* native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(*b*) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the woman of the house.

175 791 648 631 *Laibons* (Masai, *'L-Oibonok*).—Hollis, pp. 324-330, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarize their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngaroya, son of Nellian, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1923 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimurusi, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but vainglorious and boastful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngaroya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kakonyuki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Meru in 1923, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko at the end of 1922. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1926 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, Fig. 1, is seen a photograph of Mbatian, to the right the bronze club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (see Hollis, pp. 329 and 330). Mbatian's bronze club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

233 of cattle to a family (*kishomi*) in 1948 was between 100 and 200 head. There appears to be no such system as the Nandi *koptic* or Kipsikis *kimasakas*. (See above, p. 21.) Milking is done by girls and women into gourds; the calf is allowed to suck, and if it dies the skin, sometimes stuffed with grass and called *el-kata*, is presented to the cow at each milking. The milk yield is about three pints a day. Cattle are bled in the same way as by the Nandi, with a blunted arrow, *el-gwesi*, shot into the jugular vein, and the blood is caught in a gourd. Sheep also are bled. Cattle are branded with marks on the rump or flank which indicate the owner's clan or sub-clan, with sometimes a private mark as well; the ears are also clipped for the same purpose. Salt for cattle is obtained by driving the herds to a salt-lick, *en-kolosi*. The Masai are said to have effective remedies for diseases of cattle, but

232 their efficacy has never been enough to prevent heavy loss during epidemics of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia.

Donkeys

492 The Masai keep large numbers of donkeys (*i-sirkon*, sing. *o-sirkin*) which are used for carrying their goods when they move home (*idar*). Donkeys are marked by slitting the ears in different ways.

The Status of Cattle

422 The status of cattle as regards ownership is uncertain. Merker says that warriors may own cattle; Thomson says they may not, and on such a point the statements of a traveller are open to question. Fosbrooke says that they may.* But further investigation of cattle as property, and of their status in the light of ritual value is required.

INHERITANCE OF CATTLE

428 There does not seem to be any clear account of the rules which control the division of a man's stock among his sons. The guiding principle is that the eldest son of the senior wife gets the largest share, inheriting not only the cattle given in trust to his mother, but also those which his father had kept for his own use. Inheritance is affected also by the "gate" (*kishomi*) arrangement in the kraal: the cattle may not pass from one side to the other. If a wife on the left side dies without sons, her cattle may not go to a man on the right side so long as there are any sons by other wives on the left side. This subject also needs further investigation.

GRAZING AND WATER RIGHTS

423 Land is not owned by individuals, but by the sub-tribe (*el-oike*), and grazing rights are acquired by residence. Water rights are controlled by the clan. In the old days, when the Masai occupied new territory, each warrior, according to tradition, claimed a well, spring, or water-hole on behalf of his clan. Individual rights over water are then ruled out by tradition, and the senior member of a clan living at the water decides, after consultation with other elsmmers, the order in which people take their cattle to water. But a Masai when actually on the move with cattle may claim, and must be given, priority over local cattle at any well or spring. Where water is plentiful, however, as in a river, possession is communal.

DIVISION OF LABOUR

512 In a purely pastoral society like that of the Masai the expression "economic
513 unit" has little meaning, but so far as it can be said to exist, it is the family. It must be remembered, however, that the normal exercise in [illegible] is divided

* Fosbrooke, personal communication.

[illegible] (Kishomi) arrangement [illegible] p. 109. --Ann'pt]

595 /37 cont./
[736] ses in their position as secondary wife lasting or temporary maintenance. Each wife has her own hut, in which she lives with one or several small children and manages an independent household. The woman married first is the principal wife (en ałoro eńg aì) (1)

1. = the first in the kraal.

and remains such until death: then the woman married next after
[422] her steps into this position. The principal wife is supported the best, in that the husband surrenders to her a large part of his cattle for the usufruct and treats her with distinction before the other wives by means of gifts of ornaments and clothing, as well as by better service. /38/ Her eldest son has prerogatives in the right of succession. The principal wife exercises supervision over the other wives and keeps them at the work when they neglect it.

422 The domestic community does not have any common property.
[554] As property there comes into consideration first cattle, goats, sheep, and donkeys. The size of the herd is the gauge for the social position of its owner, the father of the family. The cattle
[428] handed over by him to each of his wives for care and usufruct remain his own, and only when the wife has a son about ten or twelve years old do they pass, with his consent, into the latter's possession, and sometimes into his ownership. /Ill. 9 appears here./ A presupposition for the latter, however, is that the boy
[591] is not needed in the tending of the paternal herds. For as soon as he receives the livestock, he must leave his father's kraal, along with his mother, in order to lay out a small new kraal for himself at a distance of several kilometers. This is supposed to prevent the two herds from coming together, an opportunity which otherwise the son would often enough take advantage of
422 to steal from the father. Huts and household implements, both
423 only of slight durability and little value, theoretically also belong to the father of the family, but in practice to those of his
[462] wives who use these things. The woman builds the hut, whereby the children or other women help her. What is not used in

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XX.

000 Death. -- Interment. -- Hereditary succession. -- Last wishes of the dying. -- Sacrifice to ward off impending death. -- Treatment and interment of the corpse. -- Funeral banquet. -- Mourning. -- Burial. -- Burial of Chief Mbatyan. -- Distribution of the inheritance.

763 When a family father feels death approaching, he calls his people, his wives and children, to him, in order to tell them his last wishes. These apply principally to the division of the inheritance and saying [428] further -- probably always without exception -- that the eldest son of the principal wife is to be the successor in the paternal kraal. Following this, the old man, with the words wõu, maitujuke, or õu, maitanaba, i.e., roughly: "come, I want to bless you," turns to the chief heir and gives him advice about keeping the members of the family together and supporting them in case of possible impoverishment, about care for the brothers who are still minors, as well as for the surviving wives and daughters. He admonishes him further to be friendly and gentle toward the members of the family, of the lineage, of the tribe, and toward all Masai in general. He tell him that he is to celebrate the supplication feasts and to pray, and should also hold the relatives to this. He advises him to be thrifty, but warns against miserliness, and finally he presents him with one of his ornaments, as a rule, an armband, in memory of this hour.

The husband squats at the deathbed of a wife in order to hear her last wishes, which consist in her entrusting her children -- likewise present -- to his care.

[782] In the hope of warding off death, the dying one has a black bull slaughtered as an offering to God. His eldest son leads the sacrificial animal out of the kraal, slaughters it by killing it with a stab in the neck, then removes the skin, cuts up the animal as usual, and leaves the heaped-up meat lying as a sacrifice. No prayer is spoken.

764 First of all the ornaments are taken off the deceased individual; sandals and leather apron remain on him. If the deceased is a family father, his sons quickly slaughter a black ox and boil out the fat.

/203 cont./

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[595]

Upon the death of the father, his sons inherit the herd left behind, and, to be sure, each inherits from it the livestock that his mother had had the care and use of up to then. Since the man provides best for his principal wife and gives more livestock to her than to the other wives, her sons naturally inherit more than those of the other wives. The relatively largest part of the livestock is inherited by her eldest son, the principal heir. The livestock that a sonless woman has in her care is divided among the sons whose mothers live on the same side of the kraal, the center line of which is formed by the two entrances, as she does. The custom that the father distributes a not inconsiderable part of his livestock among his sons in boyhood is peculiar. It remains in the herd, however: it is only when the son moves into the warrior kraal that the father gives him a number of cows from it in order for him to be able to cover his needs in milk, and furthermore from time to time a head of cattle to slaughter. Thus the father actually reserves the right of disposal over the livestock, even though the sons designate it as belonging to them, and it is part of the legacy in the inheritance. The wives of the deceased actually pass into the possession of his elder brother, but as a rule continue to live with their sons. The other wives, who have no sons, nowadays not infrequently go back to their paternal home. The eldest son of the deceased takes the father's place for the surviving daughters, which in practice is expressed only in that he confers the consent for their marriage and the bride price will be paid to him. Upon the death of the mother, the daughters inherit her ornaments, and the household equipment used by the former up to now also passes to them. From the estate of a warrior, his brothers, preferably the older ones, receive his weapons and half of his livestock, while the other half goes to his father.